

The challenge of the Nixon Message was not only to the federal government but to the tribes themselves: that by building strong tribal governments and more robust economies, real independence and true self determination can be achieved.

Our experience has shown that any cooperative efforts between the United States and the tribes must include a solemn assurance that the special relationship will endure and will not be terminated by the fits and starts of periodic economic success enjoyed by some Indian tribes.

President Nixon wisely realized that the mere threat of termination results in a tendency toward an unhealthy dependence on the federal government which has plagued Native people for decades. As President Nixon himself knew, Native people are not hapless bystanders in this process. His Message recognized that the story of the Indian in America is one of "endurance, survival, of adaptation and creativity in the face of overwhelming obstacles."

This persistence and tenacity by Native people have been the foundation in forging a more enlightened Indian policy and with the assistance of the United States will, I am confident, result in true self determination for Native people in the United States.

I urge my colleagues to join me in recognizing the Nixon Message and the combined efforts of Natives and non-Natives alike in making Indian self determination a reality.

#### NOTICE OF HEARINGS

##### COMMITTEE ON RULES AND ADMINISTRATION

Mr. MCCONNELL. Mr. President, I wish to announce that the Committee on Rules and Administration will meet at 9:30 a.m., Wednesday, March 29, 2000, in Room SR-301, Russell Senate Office Building, to receive testimony on Presidential primaries and campaign finance.

For further information concerning this meeting, please contact Hunter Bates at the Rules Committee on 4-6352.

##### COMMITTEE ON RULES AND ADMINISTRATION

Mr. MCCONNELL. Mr. President, I wish to announce that the Committee on Rules and Administration will meet at 9:30 a.m., Thursday, March 30, 2000, in Room SR-301, Russell Senate Office Building, to conduct an oversight hearing on the operations of the Architect of the Capitol.

For further information concerning this meeting, please contact Mary Suit Jones at the Rules Committee on 4-6352.

#### AUTHORITY FOR COMMITTEES TO MEET

##### COMMITTEE ON ARMED SERVICES

Mr. LUGAR. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the Committee on Armed Services be authorized to meet during the session of the

Senate on Thursday, March 23, 2000, at 9:30 a.m., in open session to continue to receive testimony on the national security implications of export controls and to examine S. 1712, the Export Administration Act of 1999.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

##### COMMITTEE ON ENERGY AND NATURAL RESOURCES

Mr. LUGAR. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the Committee on Energy and Natural Resources be authorized to meet during the session of the Senate on Thursday, March 23, at 9:30 a.m. to conduct an oversight hearing. The committee will consider the nomination of Thomas A. Fry III, to be Director of the Bureau of Land Management, Department of the Interior.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

##### COMMITTEE ON FINANCE

Mr. LUGAR. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the Committee on Finance be authorized to meet during the session of the Senate on Thursday, March 23, for hearings regarding Trade with China and its Implications for United States National Interests.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

##### COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN RELATIONS

Mr. LUGAR. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the Committee on Foreign Relations be authorized to meet during the session of the Senate on Thursday, March 23, 2000, at 9:30 a.m. and 2:30 p.m. to hold a hearing and a markup.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

##### COMMITTEE ON GOVERNMENTAL AFFAIRS

Mr. LUGAR. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the Governmental Affairs Committee be authorized to meet on Thursday, March 23, 2000 at 10:30 a.m. for a business meeting to consider pending Committee business.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

##### SUBCOMMITTEE ON PUBLIC HEALTH

Mr. LUGAR. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the Committee on Health, Education, Labor, and Pensions, Subcommittee on Public Health, be authorized to meet for a hearing on "Safety Net Providers" during the session of the Senate on Thursday, March 23, 2000, at 9:30 a.m.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

##### COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY

Mr. LUGAR. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the Committee on the Judiciary be authorized to meet to conduct a markup on Thursday, March 23, 2000, at 10:00 a.m., in SD226.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

##### COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY

Mr. LUGAR. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the Com-

mittee on the Judiciary be authorized to meet to conduct a hearing on Thursday, March 23, 2000, at 3:00 p.m., in SD226.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

##### SELECT COMMITTEE ON INTELLIGENCE

Mr. LUGAR. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the Select Committee on Intelligence be authorized to meet during the session of the Senate on Thursday, March 23, 2000, at 2:00 p.m., to hold a closed hearing on intelligence matters.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

##### SUBCOMMITTEE ON FISHERIES, WILDLIFE, AND WATER

Mr. LUGAR. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the Subcommittee on Fisheries, Wildlife, and Water be authorized to meet during the session of the Senate on Thursday, March 23, 2000, 10:00 a.m., to conduct a hearing on the impact to the regulated community of EPA's proposed rules regarding changes in the total maximum daily load and NPDES permit programs pursuant to the Clean Air Act.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

##### SUBCOMMITTEE ON NATIONAL PARKS, HISTORIC PRESERVATION AND RECREATION

Mr. LUGAR. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the Subcommittee on National Parks, Historic Preservation and Recreation of the Committee on Energy and Natural Resources be authorized to meet during the session of the Senate on Thursday, March 23 at 2:30 p.m. to conduct an oversight hearing. The subcommittee will receive testimony on the status of monuments and memorials in and around Washington, D.C.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

##### SUBCOMMITTEE ON SEAPOWER

Mr. LUGAR. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the Seapower Subcommittee, of the Committee on Armed Services, be authorized to meet during the session of the Senate on March 23, 2000, at 2:30 p.m. to receive testimony on Navy and Marine Corps Seapower operational capability requirements.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

##### SUBCOMMITTEE ON SURFACE TRANSPORTATION AND MERCHANT MARINE

Mr. LUGAR. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the Surface Transportation and Merchant Marine Subcommittee of the Senate Committee on Commerce, Science, and Transportation has been authorized to meet during the session of the Senate on Thursday, March 23, 2000, at 10:30 a.m. on the Surface Transportation Board 15 month merger moratorium and rulemaking proceeding.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

#### PRIVILEGE OF THE FLOOR

Mr. KENNEDY. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that Robin Myer, a

Pearson Fellow in my office, be permitted the privilege of the floor while I deliver this statement.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

#### REMOVAL OF INJUNCTION OF SECRECY—TREATY DOCUMENT NO. 106-23

Mr. WARNER. Mr. President, on behalf of the distinguished majority leader, as in executive session, I ask unanimous consent that the injunction of secrecy be removed from the following convention transmitted to the Senate on March 23, 2000, by the President of the United States: International Plant Protection Convention (IPPC), Treaty Document No. 106-23.

I further ask that the convention be considered as having been read the first time; that it be referred, with accompanying papers, to the Committee on Foreign Relations and ordered to be printed; and that the President's message be printed in the RECORD.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

The message of the President is as follows:

#### *To the Senate of the United States:*

With a view to receiving the advice and consent of the Senate to acceptance, I transmit herewith the revised International Plant Protection Convention (IPPC), adopted at the Conference of the Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO) of the United Nations at Rome on November 17, 1997. In accordance with Article XIII of the existing IPPC, the revised text will enter into force for all contracting parties 30 days after acceptance by two-thirds of the contracting parties.

The revisions are designed to bring the IPPC into line with modern practices and concepts, and to establish new mechanisms to promote the development and adoption of international phytosanitary standards.

It is my hope that the Senate will give prompt and favorable consideration to this Convention, and give its advice and consent to acceptance by the United States, subject to the two proposed understandings set forth in the accompanying report, at the earliest possible date.

WILLIAM J. CLINTON.

THE WHITE HOUSE, March 23, 2000.

Mr. WARNER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that I may proceed in morning business for such time as I may require.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

#### KOSOVO AMENDMENT

Mr. WARNER. Mr. President, on March 9, I advised the Senate of my intention to offer an amendment on Kosovo to the supplemental, assuming that legislation comes up. If not, I will consider other avenues of legislation to incorporate the basic structure of this amendment.

I have been joined in this effort by a thoughtful and well-respected number of my colleagues; indeed, the distinguished Senator from Alaska, who just departed the floor, and the distinguished Senator from Hawaii.

I placed a draft copy of the amendment in the RECORD at that time and invited comment and constructive criticism. I am so pleased to report that has happened in abundance.

I am here today to report to the Senate there has been an increasing interest in this amendment—positive, in most instances. I will refer to one bit of very constructive criticism momentarily.

We have taken into consideration the views of many. I will be putting in today's RECORD an amendment which shows certain modifications, technical modifications, which I hope will meet some of the very fine constructive ideas I have received.

To summarize, the amendment would require our European allies to fulfill a certain percentage of the commitments they have made to provide assistance and police personnel to Kosovo before the entire \$2 billion contained in the supplemental for United States military operations in Kosovo would be made available.

The amendment would allow for the provision of 50 percent of the money—over \$1 billion—immediately for the use of the Department of Defense. But the remainder would be dependent on a certification by the President of the United States that our allies had provided a certain percentage of their commitments of assistance to Kosovo.

If the President is not able to make that certification by June 1, then the remaining \$1 billion could be used only to conduct the safe, orderly, and phased withdrawal of our troops from Kosovo—not a cut and run; not a fixed timetable; I repeat, a safe and orderly phased withdrawal.

Again, I have been pleased by the response that has been generated by this amendment. It is clear, we have already achieved our first goal of focusing attention on this very serious problem in Kosovo.

Actions on the part of our allies are being taken at an accelerated rate, and much more detailed information on such actions, past and present, are becoming available daily.

For example, this past week I received letters from Lord Robertson, the Secretary General of NATO, and Dr. Bernard Kouchner, the head of the UN Mission in Kosovo, outlining the increased efforts of burdensharing of certain allies.

According to the letter I received from Dr. Kouchner—I would like to quote a paragraph—I quote:

I very much appreciate the efforts that you have made so far which have been instrumental in improving our budget situation. Existing donor pledges have now been honored. The next challenge will be to get new donor pledges and to ensure that the pledges for the reconstruction budget of 17 November 1999 do materialize.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the letters from Lord Robertson and Dr. Kouchner be printed in the RECORD at the conclusion of my remarks, with certain other documents that I will attach, and letters.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

(See Exhibits 1 and 2.)

Mr. WARNER. In addition, I had the opportunity to meet yesterday with Ambassador Guenter Burghardt, the European Commission representative in Washington, who provided me with valuable information on the contributions of the EU, particularly their efforts to streamline their process for providing assistance.

Several weeks ago, it was very difficult to get accurate information on what had been pledged by our allies—not that they were withholding it; people just could not find it, in many instances, and put it into writing—and almost impossible to get data on what had actually been supplied to Kosovo.

Now we are clearly making progress on this front, but more remains to be done.

I asked for constructive criticism. And within the hour, by pure coincidence, because I planned to deliver these remarks, came a letter from our former distinguished majority leader, and my very close friend and mentor, Senator Robert Dole.

I ask unanimous consent to print a letter from Senator Dole in the RECORD following my remarks.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

(See Exhibit 3.)

Mr. WARNER. Senator Dole wrote:

Accordingly, I would urge you to consider, at a minimum, allowing a Presidential waiver authority based upon compelling national security needs.

That sort of thing is often done. We carefully considered that. But after consultation with my cosponsors and many others, we decided not because it would make the amendment so weakened that it loses its purport. Therefore, I say respectfully to my former leader that that I cannot do. However, he has made other suggestions. And by pure coincidence and timing, they have been incorporated in the revised amendment, which I will file as a part of these remarks.

For example, he said:

That said, I believe in principle that you are entirely right to try to hold the Administration's feet to the fire to ensure that the United States continues to lead, while at the same time preventing it from shouldering an inordinate share of the international burden in the Balkans. The devil is in the details, however, and I am concerned that some of the targets identified in your amendment simply cannot be met, and that the European powers are being held to a higher standard than the United States. For example, is it realistic for the United States and/or Europeans to be required to disburse 33 percent of the funds needed for Kosovo reconstruction by June 1, 2000?

Prior to receiving this letter, we had made technical changes from "disbursed" to "obligated or contracted